372 /399 cont./
women are like the vestals of old, and never allow the fire to go out in the frail barques" (MM:X, 20: 1878) /cited in English/.

B. Clothing

291 511 Since the time the Yamana became known beyond the borders of their remote island world, an amazing fact concerning them continues to be discussed in European circles to this day, namely, that they enjoy excellent health in their damp, raw homeland without any clothing and body covering to speak of. Every European is convinced that a human being under the weather conditions existing there must be dependent on very ample protection if he is to survive. Nevertheless, the short scrap of leather that the Fuegians hang loosely around their necks does not even deserve to be called clothing or body covering. All observers agree, and in their accounts express their astonishment in no uncertain terms, that the natives "ordinarily go about completely naked." These are also the specific words of one of the first missionaries, Aspinall: 270. Further documentation will be found below.

147 At the same time, observers recognize the healthy physical development and the great resistance of the natives, although they never describe the full significance of that most vital resource which is constantly at their disposal, namely, their open fire.

372 /400/ This fire more than compensates for the complete lack of protective body covering. An easily accessible stand of trees furnishes the required fuel for everyone. With it he can maintain a warm fire in the hut, in the canoe, in any open place, and at every campsite. The fire alone makes life possible in that region.

291 A short back-cape of skin is the only article of clothing, alike in shape and brevity for all sexes and ages. It is functional chiefly because it gives the comforting fire unobstructed access to the whole surface of the body.

291 ● 881 In their manufacture of articles, our Indians are dependent primarily on furs and skins as their raw material. This is also true of the little that one might call their "clothing." A complicated method of preparation is not possible because there are no tools for it. Also, it would not be worthwhile because the high humidity

/400 cont./

291 everywhere soon has a destructive effect. Everything, however,
281 testifies to a far-reaching modesty in their demands and to the complete self-sufficiency of these natives, which surprises every observer.

291 It is worth emphasizing that the amount of clothing as such does not always offer the best and most healthful protection for the body. In any case, however, the consequences are disastrous, for
[171] many people when their arrangements, which have for centuries proved serviceable, are forcefully suppressed or put aside by mistaken judges who have come from different conditions of life (65).

65. In this connection see page 315 /untranslated/ on the many disadvantages that developed for the Yamana when they adopted European clothing at the mission station and afterwards.

291 It is instructively stimulating to compare the customary
171 dress of the Yamana with that of their neighbors on either side. The Halakwulup in the west, in the same climatic conditions and like economic circumstances, have exactly the same body covering as the Yamana. The Selk'nam, on the other hand, living in a country with less precipitation, travel by day and do not make an open fire until evening to protect themselves for the cold night. They do not rub as much fat onto their bodies, but instead wrap themselves in a wide, well-fitting cloak of soft guanaco leather. Since they have less chance to remain beside an open fire, they seek a substitute in a warmer piece of clothing. This proves how intelligently and sensitively every tribe has chosen what is most serviceable and advantageous from among the few possibilities offered by its environment.

291 If we regard as body covering the inconsequential piece of leather that the Yamana hang around themselves, Lothrop:121 is right when he says: "It is no exaggeration to remark that, considering the climate in which they had to live, this southernmost tribe had less body-covering than any other people in /401/ the world" /cited in English/. Anything less in the way of body protection than the Yamana have in their frosty Cape Horn region cannot be imagined.

/402 cont./

291 toward the wind, for it hangs very loosely on a single strip of leather drawn around the neck. When they go to sleep at night, they untie this cape and use it as a cover. Fortunately, our Indians have such an enviable ability to curl themselves up that most of the body is covered by this tiny piece of leather.

291 It is principally the small sea lion that furnishes its skin for this cape. Sometimes two small pieces are sewed together.
291 The edges are cut fairly evenly. In the southern regions the man also uses a small cloak made of two or three otter skins, whereas the inhabitants of the east wear a similarly large fur piece from the guanaco. As we know, guanacos are easily obtainable on Navarino Island and on the north shore of eastern Beagle Channel. Sea lions are less common. It is possible that the eastern Yamana, [177] following the example of the neighboring Selk'nam, have only in the most recent times made the wider and longer cloak that covers the entire body. Originally they used it as little as did the other groups (68).

68. Bridges writes: "The natives of the shores of Beagle Channel are frequently enrobed in a guanaco skin; not the beautiful guanaco robes used by the Patagonians, but the coarse shaggy skins of the grown animals which the Patagonians use only as tent covers" (VP:III, 117; 1856) /cited in English/.

291 The cape does not demand any care, and when it is worn out, it can easily be replaced. The fur side is advantageously worn on the outside. If the layer of fur were next to the skin, a great deal of dirt and perspiration would accumulate, one's skin would be scratched or irritated by the larger bristles, /403/ and the entire piece would become hard and stiff, since the leather would constantly be exposed to rain. The layer of leather, however, although soaked with blubber, is lubricated, so to speak, by the oily skin of the body on which it lies, and this keeps it soft longer. Moreover, the rain easily drips off the layer of fur worn outside and cannot soak through the whole piece. The decisive factor, as I learned, is that the Indians find the layer of fur uncomfortable against the naked skin of their bodies. No wonder, since even this light cape

291 834 /407 cont./
lamented comrade, Naval Lieutenant Payen, who took this photograph, was very well acquainted with this girl, but he could never persuade her to move her right hand from the place where the apron belonged" /translated from French/.

This apron is thus strictly demanded by decency and a feeling of modesty. Even at night the women do not remove it (78).

78. Hyades (f):561 again speaks of this in detail: "The women have only a little covering for modesty, intended to hide the genital parts, which consists of a very short and very narrow triangle suspended between the thighs. It is made of guanaco hide, with the fur turned inward. They never, or almost never, remove this covering; during the conjugal act, it is simply raised up on the abdomen" /translated from French/. Compare also Hyades (h):1346.

291 It is usually triangular in shape, about 15 centimeters wide at the top and about ten centimeters long in the middle. Some are also trapezoidal or rectangular in shape. They always choose a soft
• [281] piece of leather and prefer guanaco leather, both sides of which are scraped and rubbed with blubber. Girls and younger women use pieces of otter and guanaco skins without removing the fur. They wear the fur side against their bodies (80). A hole is bored into

80. Hyades (d) :307 thinks that this is "probably because its contact against the skin is softer than that of leather" /translated from French/.

the two upper corners, in one of which is knotted a narrow leather band or a braided tendon. This is drawn over the hips and knotted on the other corner. The apron hangs freely, fits well, is tightly pressed between the legs, and serves its purpose (81). This piece

81. Lothrop (h) :333 says only: "A triangular pubic covering of skin was usually worn by the

302 /411 cont./

bodies with an ointment made of blubber and red earth, which probably also affords some protection against the cold." Below that, Snow (b):164 mentioned it: "The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ochreous earth" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):139 mentioned the same purpose: "Both sexes oil them selves, or rub /sic/ their bodies with grease" /cited in English/. Spears:53 also mentions this custom and adds: "Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Eskgan, they would have had fewer tales of suffering to tell" /cited in English/.

single anointment with blubber of the whale /411/ or sea lion. This made every person glisten with oil from head to foot, which had a most amazing effect on European travelers and missionaries until they became accustomed to the sight. This simple and very effective measure was available to everyone, and they all liked to use it when cold winds blew or when there was heavy rain. Such [117] an anointment with blubber is no longer possible with the European clothing that is customary today. Instead, every article of clothing is full of dirt and grease.

291 In spite of everything, the extremely meager body protection of our Indians proves their great power of resistance against the extreme inclemency of the weather in their homeland and their undemanding contentment. Even though their one article of clothing is serviceable and their open fire an indispensable advantage, there would still be room for a few simple comforts. Compared with the neighboring Selk'nam, our Tehuesa are obviously in a somewhat less favorable position.

5. Preparation of Furs and Skins

291 Our Indians need the furs and skins of their game animals (87).

87. In some places the Indian has a good selection. Thus Bridges wrote on June 4, 1864, about his visit

/413 cont./
in the Wollaia region: "The greater part of the skins we saw on the natives, were Otter skins; there were very few Guanaco skins... Seal skins, both fur and hair, were numerous. Many of the skins were sufficiently large to cover the whole person" (YSA.XI, 180, 1954) /cited in English/.

not only to make their meager articles of clothing, but for all kinds of implements and utilitarian articles. The awns and the fox are hunted only for their fur. Following an old, sanctioned custom, man and wife share in the work of preparation; the heavier work falls to the man, and the lighter handwork to the woman. Fortunately, the skins are extremely greasy and oily. After they have been removed, they keep perfectly for several days despite complete neglect. The sometimes continuous inclemency of the weather very often hinders the man in accomplishing pressing tasks, during which time many objects are badly damaged from lack of immediate care and proper treatment.

When possible, the successful hunter makes every effort to skin the seal immediately at the place where he killed it or at the first best landing place. His main object is the delicious blubber and the fresh meat. First he must pull off the skin. He places the sea lion or related species on its back lengthwise on the ground. His first and only long incision is made from the neck over the chest and belly to the end of the rump. A sharpened mussel shell serves as a knife. The second and deeper incision runs around the neck. He does not yet sever the head completely, /413/ but thrusts his knife so deeply that the whole head can be grasped with both hands and, after the cervical vertebra has been broken, torn off with a sharp tug. He begins slowly at one edge of the skin or the other and, holding his knife in his right hand and grasping the skin with his left, he peels it away from its adhering layer of fat by means of short, contiguous, oblique cuts. The flippers are pushed out inward from the joints under the skin which has been severed all around, and thus they remain hanging on the skin. He works his way along, piece by piece, first on one side, then on the other, always in the direction of the rump until the whole

/413 cont./

carcass lies on the outspread skin from which it has now been separated. He sees to it that only thin remnants of the layer of fat cling to the skin; they are wanted as food since he does not scrape them off later. He then peels off the thick subcutaneous layer of fat all around the carcass, going over it up to four more times, in the form of sheets as large as the palm of one's hand, which the women and children carry to the hut. It is only then that he opens the abdominal cavity, takes out the entrails, along with the stomach and lungs, which he tosses to the dogs or throws into the water, and reserves the heart for himself. Turning the carcass, he lets the blood flow out, and finally he cuts it into several large pieces.

As soon as circumstances permit -- a few days do not matter -- the skin is dried. Until then caution must be exercised so that the dogs do not chew on it. The man takes charge of stretching it. First he cuts out the four flippers which are still hanging in the skin, and his wife immediately sews up these holes with strong tendon fibers. Along the outer edge of the skin he punches small holes a finger's length apart. Rods about as thick as a finger are fixed into the holes under tension and from one side of the skin to the other, lengthwise and crosswise. The rods are crudely pointed and protrude only a little beyond the hole. There is more tension on the thicker sticks than on the thinner ones, but all are turned and poked in such a manner that there are no wrinkles in the entire stretched skin. Irregular and confused though this basketwork is in appearance, the skin itself is evenly stretched throughout.

It is leaned against the outer wall of the hut to dry. A protruding stick is pounded into the earth, so that the stretched skin stands upright and both sides are exposed to currents of air. The basketwork is put on the inner side, not the hair side, to keep it from getting soiled, since many remnants of fat still cling to it. The moving current of air dries the skin quickly, hence it makes no difference if the piece of leather is often raised on while it is still soft. If it were dried in front of the fire, parts of it would shrink or even rot, and it would become distorted; therefore the Indians do not try it. After two to three weeks, depending on the time of the year and the thickness of the skin, it is so stiff and

/413 cont./

•29/ hard that the sticks of the frame can be removed (88).

[71]

88. This basketwork frame for stretching skins is quite as simple and made after the same pattern as that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, p. 210, and Fig. 21). Some time ago Despard spoke of a preparation of "skins by streching /sic/ them in wooden frames, till quite dry; then scraping and rubbing with stones, till soft and smooth, and white inside" (VP:VI, 86; 1859) /cited in English/. This procedure is ancient and familiar also to the Halakwulup.

/414/ The procedure is the same for stretching and drying the skins of the fox and the otter, but the work is easier because these skins are lighter and smaller. Some care is required in skinning penguins and cormorants, as well as in stretching these skins, ɨpun, minuɨ, which are thin and delicate. The fur and skins of other animals are not dressed.

If the dried, stiff seal skins are used for the covering of the hut, they need no further preparation, but for their many other uses it is necessary to clean them. The ordinary knife or a sharp-edged mussel shell serves as a scraper. The woman scrapes the inner side, piece by piece, with the entire broad side of the blade. The skin is spread out on the ground with the hair side down, and she kneels or squats on it, pushing herself along bit by bit. With uninterrupted movements of the arm, she draws the scraper toward her body with moderate pressure and in short strokes. Hence the scraping marks appear in layers and point in the same direction. In any case, the scraped surface looks irregular because the sharpness of the scraper and the strength of her arm vary constantly. It is necessary to remove primarily the dried fatty tissue and the transparent horny layer of the surface because they tend to rot easily. The woman is mostly guided by feeling, hence it cannot be definitely determined how deep she should go as she scrapes. It depends on the thickness of the entire skin.

[342]
[343]

Often it is also necessary to remove the hair, as when pieces of leather are needed for the back-cape and for pouches or straps.

/414 cont./

• 281 In the case of smaller pieces, the hair is sometimes scraped off with the scraper, but more often the natives encourage a process of decay. One method is to place the entire skin under the sleeping section from which a flat layer of earth has first been removed. It is then covered with damp earth, grass, or moss, and the bed is arranged upon it as before. They leave it there, and life in the hut goes on as usual. Dampness from below and a little warmth from above start a process of fermentation which loosens the layer of hair. Eventually this can easily be stripped off with the flat of the hand, as soon as the leather is covered with a slightly slimy, sticky layer (89). Another procedure, used by the woman, is more

89. In brief, general terms Hyades (q):347 also mentions this method of treating the skins to remove the hair.

[514] successful. She collects her own urine on the piece of leather which is spread out with the hairy side upward, letting it penetrate for some time. It does not matter whether the piece lies inside or outside the hut for several days, and it is at the same time exposed to the dampness of the earth. These people think that human urine is more effective when it is collected on the piece of leather and, still warm, is immediately /415/ rubbed in with the palm of the hand or with a small tuft of wood shavings. After this has been repeated several times, the skin is covered with a thin layer of damp earth and then frequently sat upon or slept on so that it is given a good deal of body warmth. After about two weeks the hair can be stripped off easily. The piece of leather is now extremely soft, and one can easily cut out long ropes or short straps.

An otter skin takes more work to prepare. When the woman has completely dried it on the framework of sticks mentioned above, she plucks out the long, coarse hairs individually with her fingers [412] or with two mussel shells that fit one on top of the other. This is an irksome process, but in the end it gives the even, velvety soft fur that everyone regards with pleasure and enjoys stroking with the palm of the hand.

After they are dried, the hard, thick seal skins must be thoroughly beaten, even though the underside has been well scraped, to make them soft and flexible. This requires strong hands, which

/415 cont./

281 the Yamana women have. There is no hurry about this, since the dried skin, if it is protected from being soaked, cannot be damaged. The work is done in small sections because it quickly tires any woman. She grasps a piece with both hands, makes fists, and presses them together with a kneading motion, so that this movement alone softens the leather. She lets every part slide through her hands several times and kneads it in different directions. Hard, scarred sections are put between her teeth, and after biting them for a long time and using a great deal of saliva on them they finally also soften up. In general, if she wants to make leather pieces quite pliable, she draws them through her teeth, chewing on them.

The Yamana are not familiar with any special process for making the leather stronger by tanning it and saturating it with special materials. To begin with, the dressed skins have plenty of fat and blubber, which are unintentionally smeared on them so often that they have some protection against rotting due to dampness and against cracking by drying out. The back-cape especially receives ample lubrication from the greasy body, merely by being worn. The Yamana only occasionally take out a piece of leather or a finished object of leather and rub it thoroughly with oil. Even less frequently they mix blubber and a red powder made of burnt clay into a putty-like substance and rub it over the surface of the leather with the pressure of the flattened hand (90). If they wish

[171]

90. This is the common procedure among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 212), probably because the guanaco skins do not contain much fat and because the bodies of these Indians have only a thin layer of fat which is automatically and unintentionally transferred to the objects they use daily.

to make smaller pieces of leather soft and pliable, they saturate them for some time with blubber. Frequent use suffices to keep leather from getting hard and stiff.

281 /416/ Whenever it is necessary, as in the case of a larger
294 cloak of skins, for example, the cloak of otter skins, awaiix, the people also know how to sew leather pieces together easily and

/416 cont./
281 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them
294 side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, uswúmi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

283 The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known
237 as uswúmi or ūnána, are often used in sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but
[136] a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or beaver (Myocastor coipus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

515 Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appear-
356 ance of the Yamana (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (a) :I, 345 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /cited in English/.

/468 cont./

411 there is only a single one" (Hyades [h]:37) /translated from French/. Both wings of this feathering are exactly perpendicular to the shaft and opposite each other. The feathering extends almost down to the lowest notch and is altogether about 25 millimeters long, whereas the entire arrow is about 70 centimeters.

411 177 Today we are no longer able to find out in what quantities our Yamana took over arrowheads directly from the Selk'nam; it did actually happen. Not only did the old men assure me of this, but in the piles of shells on the eastern Beagle Channel we find such points made of obsidian which are rare in central areas and almost entirely absent in the west. Whether the stimulus for making this characteristic /469/ form of the arrowhead was transferred from the Yamana to the Selk'nam or vice versa remains a question which cannot be solved in this context alone, but which is not without some significance.

γ. The Quiver

• 281 411 Obviously the Fuegian arrows are delicate constructions, and they are carefully stored. The most durable quiver is made of the leather of pinnipeds; the one of otter leather is more highly valued because it is more beautiful. Martial:192 mentions only the latter. The quiver is a longish, narrow bag, with a loop sewed to the upper part to serve as a handle. To achieve this shape, the natives cut a long rectangle out of leather, place the two longitudinal edges together and sew them up. For the bottom they set in a small oval piece of leather, which is also sewed on. The quiver is always slightly longer than the arrows so that they will not stick out and break off; it is about 15 centimeters wide. Each individual arrow is slid into the quiver with the point downward. When one is needed, the end of the shaft is grasped between the feathering with the tip of the thumb and index finger and immediately placed on the bowstring.

411 [171] This brief description also fits perfectly the quiver of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 240), which, however, is a little longer and wider. The eastern Yamana are familiar only with this one of leather, whereas the people of the central area and the west not infrequently make a quiver out of two moderately curved pieces of

/498 cont./

412 The things our Indians make with their iron tools differ from
177 what they made formerly only in execution; in each and every object they retain the basic forms. An exception is the substitution of the flat skiff in place of the bark canoe. We can, therefore, by no means speak of an improvement or perfection of total Fuegian technical skill as a result of their adoption of iron implements.

10. Articles Made of Leather, Hide, Bark

323 None of the three Fuegian Indian tribes is acquainted with pottery. Clayey earths are present and, in small amounts, are heated and made into the above-mentioned red pigment used for decoration. It has not occurred to anyone to make pots out of them. The Indians are very poor in material possessions. Still,
415 they need many small things which they must keep in bags and pouches so as not to lose them in their restless moving about. None of these things are durable by any means, but are easily and quickly replaced by others. Most of the utilitarian objects of this kind have been mentioned in the foregoing parts of this book where in each case their use was discussed. Here they will be more or less completely classified according to the material out of which they are made.

281 The explanation for so many things being made of leather is the environment in which our Fuegians have been placed. Their body covering, which does not deserve the name clothing, consists of pieces of leather and of skins, as we have already mentioned on page 50. In that connection we also described the treatment and preparation of leather (p. 68). To repeat briefly, the hunter himself skins the slain animal -- otter, guanaco, seal. He removes the skin piece by piece, cutting it away from the layer of fat surrounding the body with a mussel shell. Immediately /499/ the woman scrapes the larger bunches of fat, muscle, and tissues from the skin which is still soft and wet, stretching it taut above the ground by means of short wooden pegs or a network of short sticks. As soon as the skin has become hard from drying, she scrapes the hairless layer with the ufker[1]. Sometimes she removes the /Fig. 47 appears here/ layer of fur by

/499 cont./

•281 means of a rotting process. She makes the piece still softer and more pliable by manipulating and kneading it with both hands. Then follows the removal of irregular edges and finally cutting it to size, according to the object that is to be made.

281 415 We need not describe again the body covering and how it is made. The many bags, pouches, and sacks of all sizes have a uniform shape; they are commonly longish and deep. This follows naturally from the way they originate. Out of a large scrap of leather the Indian woman cuts a somewhat longish rectangle and folds it so that the two narrow edges come together. These are meant for the upper rim of the bag. Then, with a rather thick sinew, she makes a whipstitch seam on the right and left sides and the bag is closed. Two, three, or four holes are pierced along the upper edge, and a short handle is attached through them. This is usually a narrow strap, but it may be a braided cord made of sinews or rushes (Fig. 47). No matter how tightly the thread of the seams is pulled, the bag nevertheless leaks if it is filled with water. After long use, however, fine particles of dirt lodge in the seams, which act as calking.

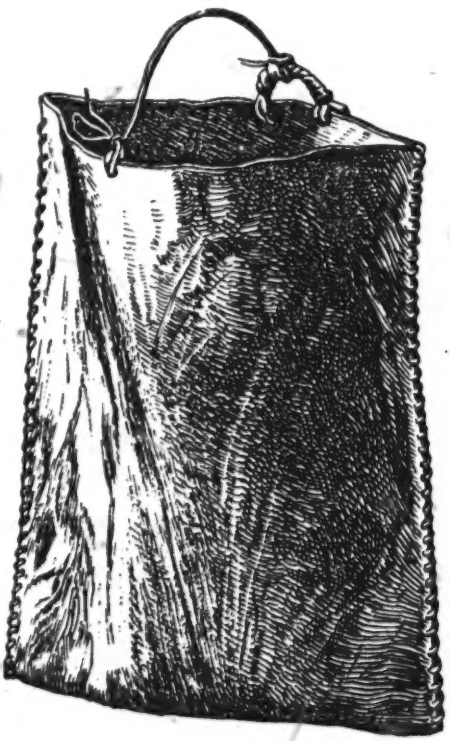

Fig. 47. Leather Bag.

These leather bags, ĺăša, are, of course, of different sizes, but they are not noticeably different in shape. We can say that

/499 cont./

●281 for certain purposes approximately the same measurements are used,
415 sometimes even the same type of leather (211). For storing the /500/

211. Lothrop (b):133 also mentions the various uses of individual bags.

fire-making apparatus, the Indians prefer a small pouch, gēsánux, of guanaco leather, about ten centimeters wide and deep. It is either tied shut at the top like a sack, or a short flap is left on when it is cut out, and this is flipped over the opening, whereupon a sinew is wound crosswise around the whole thing. It is important, however, to leave the fur on; it prevents the leather from getting soaked and thus ruining the contents. A somewhat larger but similar pouch is commonly used to store pigments. The man keeps his long harpoon points made of whale bone in a deeper, narrow leather bag, his tools and odds and ends in a wider, shorter bag. The woman puts her ornaments and implements in a large, wide leather bag with a handle.

281 Straps and ropes are also cut out of leather. The long lasso, ŭkeša, for the large harpoon (Fig. 35) and for other purposes (212)

212. As is well known, it serves many purposes in the hunt for food, a fact which Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed. The Selk'nam also use it (Vol. I, 254). BD:79 describes it as "a long piece of hide freed of hair used for many purposes" /cited in English/.

requires a great deal of work. It is made from the thick skin of the adult male bear seal, tĕpĕ·a, (Arctocephalus australis). The work is begun immediately after the woman has removed the layer of hair by the above-mentioned fermenting process (p. 71). The man spreads the very soft skin flat on the ground, punches a hole in the center, and, with sharpened shells of Solen, cuts a strip as wide as a finger in unbroken concentric circles from the center until he has used up the skin. Then he ties one end to a tree trunk and pulls the entire long strip of skin against other trunks, stretching it as much as possible. The tension is, of

/500 cont./

281 course, increased when the strip dries. Since the man has carefully avoided having the strap curl up lengthwise, it comes out smooth and even after it is thoroughly dry.

281 The women often use a strip of leather about five meters long
482 and one centimeter wide as a carrying strap, mun. They coil the center section several times lengthwise, the width of the coil corresponding to the width of their backs. Then they loop the two end pieces, left and right, in the coil. The two end pieces are placed over the shoulders, while the middle piece is drawn around a bundle of wood or a piece of baggage which the woman has previously loaded on her back as she bent the upper part of her body far forward. By drawing the straps tight, she keeps the burden immovable.

281 Leather in one form or another is used for sewing and tying things, for the water scoop and the hand protector, and for many other little things. They always keep it handy and it can easily be obtained (213). All types of leather, however, suffer from the excessive dampness.

213. In recent times the Yamana have shown a great fondness for a cigarette-tobacco pouch made of a piece of leather from an otter tail.

[276]

281 /501/ Whereas in the foregoing other kinds of containers or
415 bags of hide were mentioned, here I refer to the kinds made of bird skins, minus. The skins of cormorants and penguins are regarded as very suitable; they are more durable because of the coarseness of the feathers. The natives make a long incision on the underside of the animal and remove the entire skin. They sever the wings and legs from the inside and finally the neck at its uppermost vertebrae. The head is sometimes left on. Sometimes they cut off the whole neck, as well as legs and wings, from the outside and afterward sew up these openings and also the long incision over the belly, except for a slit a hand's breadth wide which is left as the opening. In such a bird skin one keeps lighter and more delicate things, such as necklaces and pigments, the feather diadems, and so forth (214). They very seldom turn

214. Hyades (q):306 grouped together

• 281
415

/501 cont./
several of these small bags and described them in detail, as did Lothrop (b): 133. Compare Spegazzini (a): 162 and Colini:238.

the freshly removed bird skin inside out so that the feathered side is on the inside.

Dried pieces of gut and the dried stomach of smaller seals are also used as small bags. They are popular as containers for pigments and liquid blubber, for they are impermeable. These things are known as yáį (Fig. 20).

415 The above-mentioned articles of leather and skin are neither very strong nor particularly durable. Even more fragile and delicate are the buckets and smaller vessels made of bark. Such containers are not suitable for the type of life led by the Selk'nam; however, they are serviceable for the Yamana because they can be easily kept in the canoe and taken along. There is a larger type, kā́la, x̣ā́la, and a smaller, tū́ku. BD:201, 469 also distinguishes between kā́la, "a bark bucket," and tū́kū, "a bark bailer" /cited in English/. The complete name for the large pail is ajyū́su x̣ā́la in the western dialect, and á́ta, x̣ā́la in the eastern dialect.

415 322 When one wants to make a pail, he peels a ring out of the bark of an evergreen beech with the usual bone tools. The outer rind and the inner dry bark fibers are scraped off; then all the edges are cut very evenly. Before the piece of bark curls up by drying its longitudinal edges are sewed together, carefully well overlapped. A round bottom of the same bark is set in and secured by means of a seam that runs all the way around. To prevent the upper edge from tearing a flexible strip of the soft wood layer of [824] Drimys winteri is placed around it and sewed on. Whalebone strips [283] as well as thin bundles of bast-fiber are used to sew it. A short leather strap or a braided rush cord is knotted above the opening as a handle. This makes it easy to handle the bucket which is up to 30 centimeters high and has a diameter of 13 centimeters (Fig. 48). For /502/ smaller vessels they take the bark of [824] Drimys winteri and even of Maytenus magellanica, both of which have less tendency to curl because their bark is thicker than that of beeches. For these they do no more than make a longitudinal seam and set in a

/676 cont./

462 Our Indian woman contributes incomparably more to her family's sustenance than does her neighbor on Isla Grande. This is no exaggeration. One need only keep in mind that she alone gathers the mussels, which for the Yamana are as important as bread for a European. Her gathering activity, which lasts several hours on most days, also extends to snails and crabs, sea urchins and birds' eggs, berries and fungi. She catches many a fish with her fishline and many a young bird in its nest. All these articles of game benefit her whole family. She prepares for roasting the
462 large mammals and the birds which her husband brings to the hut.
252 Since no regular mealtimes are observed, she must serve first this one and then that one. She makes the popular blubber sausages (p. 320) and bakes the appetizing blood sausages in hot ashes. Finally, it is her task to dry Cyttaria fungi. Without this varied co-operation of the woman, the menu /677/ of the Yamana would be lamentably monotonous. She shows amazing skill and tireless endurance in obtaining food through the year (p. 281).

462 With all these manifold duties, there are all kinds of smaller manual tasks. Seal, otter, and guanaco pelts and the skins of
● 281 birds require a great deal of work. She must stretch, scrape, and, in part, dress them. She makes all the objects of leather and skins, especially bags and pouches, ornaments and toys, and naturally also the little that is used for body covering. For her personal use she needs small baskets and skin pouches. For the latter she chooses the alimentary canal of álakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus) and pieces of seal gut. She works on them during the brief intervals when she is free of other obligations. She looks for and prepares the colored earth for red and white body painting, prepares the fishing lines, and braids the rush hawsers for the canoe and the tendons for various uses (see particularly pp. 99, 196, 201).

462 If we add all this together, we are amazed and astonished at the extraordinarily extensive and versatile daily achievement of our Indian woman. Superficial travelers took this as a reason for describing her lot as oppressive and undignified, her burden of work as unbearable, and her existence as inhuman (67).

67. Bove (e):157 and (d):292 is one of those Europeans who exaggerate the most: "While

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

of several skins sewn together, was sometimes set up—a practice whose origin, native or European, is uncertain. (For details on manufacture and use of canoe, cf.: Lothrop, 1928, pp. 143–145; 1932 a, pp. 251–253; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 438–457.)

After about 1880 the *Yahgan* began to give up their traditional bark canoes, and to adopt the dugout. Still later, prior to Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, the dugout had been entirely superseded by the dory, of European type and origin.

The *Yahgan* never adopted the plank boat from their *Alacaluf* neighbors and never used rafts or skin-covered watercraft, so far as our records reveal.

MANUFACTURES

Pottery, weaving, and metallurgy were entirely absent; no traces of pottery have been discovered archeologically in *Yahgan* territory.

String-making and sewing.—Plant fibers, plain, shredded, or braided, were used in basket making, canoe sewing, and for mooring lines, respectively; braided whale sinew, for necklaces, fishing lines, and tool and weapon lashings; braided guanaco sinew, for bowstrings; whalebone, in sewing canoes and for bird snares and fishline nooses; seal-hide thongs, for tool and weapon lashings, harpoon lines, basket handles, mooring lines, and bowstrings. Awls were made of bone and wood, unhafted. The drill was lacking.

Basketry.—Four techniques in basket making were in use: (1) Simple half-hitch coiled, the commonest type (fig. 13, *top*); (2) twisted half-hitch coiled, rarer (fig. 13, *center*); (3) knotted half-hitch coiled, not common (fig. 13, *bottom*); (4) a sort of wrapped type. The first three were of excellent craftsmanship; the last, very crudely woven, and used only as a dip net for catching very small fish. The material for all four was a rush (*Juncus magellanicus*). The coiled baskets were more or less oblong-spheroid in shape, and had a carrying handle of thong or plaited rush (pl. 33, *c*).

Skin dressing.—No process of dressing proper is reported. Seal-skins were stretched on the ground, covered with grass and moss, and left so for a while, to help dehair them. Drying frames were apparently used. The scraper consisted of a mussel shell lashed to a cylindrical stone haft. The *Yahgan* made thongs flexible by drawing them through their teeth or by chewing them.

Stoneworking.—Little use of worked stone was made except for arrowheads and, rarely, scrapers. The workmanship was crude. Archeologically, there are some traces of stone pecking and polishing (Lothrop, 1928, p. 203; cf. Bird, 1938).

Containers.—Cylindrical buckets (pl. 33, *e*), of *Nothofagus betuloides* bark, for carrying and holding drinking water and for bailing, were made by the woman, with the use of a barking tool dif-